

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 HA-05 IO-13 CU-04 ACDA-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00
DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01
SP-02 SS-15 BIB-01 COME-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 INRE-00
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O R 020610Z MAR 78
FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5555
INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
USMISSION USNATO
USMISSION USBERLIN
USMISSION GENEVA
USIA WASHDC
USDEL MBFR VIENNA
USCINCEUR

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BELGRADE 1723

FOR EUR/RPM AND EUR/SOV FROM USDEL CSCE

GENEVA FOR USDEL HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: CSCE OCON
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SUBJ: BELGRADE CSCE -- DAILY HIGHLIGHTS, MARCH 1

SUMMARY: ROMANIA, YUGOSLAVIA, MALTA, SWITZERLAND AND TO SOME
EXTENT SWEDEN ARE FORMING HARD CORE OF GROUP SEEKING TO
BUILD-UP SHORT CONCLUDING DOCUMENT WITH ADDITIONAL POST-
BELGRADE EXPERTS GROUPS IN SELECTIVE AREAS. SOVIETS ARE TAKING
AMBIGUOUS POSITION. THEY TELL US THEY FAVOR WRAPPING UP A

VERY SHORT DOCUMENT QUICKLY AND THAT WESTERN PAPER IS BETTER BASIS ON WHICH TO WORK THAN ROMANIAN, BUT IN INFORMAL CONTACT SESSIONS THAT WENT ON THROUGHOUT DAY, THEY EXPRESS SYMPATHY FOR ROMANIAN DRAFT AND HAVE TOUGHENED THEIR STANCE BOTH ON POSSIBLE CBMS GROUP AND ON MADRID MEETING. SMALL AMBASSADORIAL-LEVEL CONTACT GROUP WILL BE MEETING AGAIN THIS EVENING.
END SUMMARY.

1. ALL OF DAY'S ACTIVITY HAS BEEN IN SMALL CONTACT GROUPS. PRIMARY GROUP IS AT AMBASSADORIAL LEVEL AND HAS CONSISTED, WITH OCCASIONAL ADDITIONS, OF U.S., DANISH, SOVIET, YUGOSLAV, ROMANIAN, MALTESE AND SWISS REPS. IT HAS CONCENTRATED ON PROPOSALS FOR THREE ADDITIONAL POST-BELGRADE EXPERT MEETINGS ON CBMS, MEDITERRANEAN AND INFORMATION.

2. ROMANIAN AMBASSADOR LIPATTI HAS TAKEN STRONGEST POSITION THAT SUBSTANTIAL FOLLOW-UP SUBSTANCE IS BOTTOM-LINE REQUIREMENT TO MAINTAIN MOMENTUM OF CSCE. WHILE EMPHASIZING IMPORTANCE OF ACHIEVING AS MANY EXPERT GROUPS AS POSSIBLE IN ADDITION TO THOSE ON PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES AND A SCIENTIFIC FORUM THAT ARE REQUIRED BY FINAL ACT, HE HAS MADE IT CLEAR THAT SOMETHING IN MILITARY AREA IS KEY REQUIREMENT. LIPATTI SAYS EXPLICITLY THAT ROMANIAN DEL WILL NEVER GIVE CONSENSUS TO ANY CONCLUDING DOCUMENT THAT DOES NOT INCLUDE SOME SUCH GROUP. HE PROFESSES TO BE FLEXIBLE ON MANDATE, BUT SAYS THAT HIS PRESIDENT HAS DECIDED THAT BELGRADE MEETING MUST CONFIDENTIAL

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CONTINUE UNTIL THIS ESSENTIAL IS ACHIEVED. LIPATTI HAS RECEIVED STRONG SUPPORT FROM YUGOSLAVS, WHO ALSO APPARENTLY SEE THIS ISSUE AS MINIMUM FOR REGARDING BELGRADE MEETING AS SUCCESS. SWEDES, WHILE LESS ABSOLUTE, ARE ALSO STRONGLY FOR CMBS GROUP.

3. MALTESE, OF COURSE, ARE INSISTING THAT THEY MUST GET MEDITERRANEAN GROUP. SWISS AMBASSADOR (BINSCHEDLER) SAID THAT HIS DEL WOULD WITHHOLD CONSENSUS FROM CONCLUDING DOCUMENT THAT DID NOT INCLUDE EXPERTS GROUP ON INFORMATION PROBLEMS. SOVIETS, HOWEVER, HAVE ALREADY SAID THAT THERE ARE NO CIRCUMSTANCES IN WHICH THEY CAN ACCEPT SUCH A GROUP, AND SWISS POSITION IS NOT TAKEN SERIOUSLY BY OTHER DELS.

4. AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG AND DANISH AMBASSADOR, REPRESENTING NATO CAUCUS, OPPOSED ADDITIONAL EXPERTS GROUPS AS MATTER OF PRINCIPLE, POINTING OUT THAT IT WOULD BE PREJUDICIAL TO FINAL ACT AS A WHOLE TO ADOPT CONCLUDING DOCUMENT THAT PRODUCED PROGRESS ONLY IN A FEW SELECTED AREAS. AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG HAS STRESSED THAT PRIMARY OBJECTIVE FOR ALL DELS AT THIS LATE DATE SHOULD BE TO ENSURE CONTINUITY OF CSCE PROCESS AND THAT LIPATTI THREAT TO CONTINUE MEETING INDEFINITELY IS HOLLOW SINCE

PLENARY IS EXTENDING ITSELF ONLY ON DAY-TO-DAY BASIS. WITH
OBLIQUE REFERENCE TO SOVIET REMINDERS THAT TIME IS RUNNING
SHORT, AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG HAS INDICATED THAT ROMANIANS RUN
RISK OF FINDING THAT ONE DAY A DELEGATION HAS REFUSED CONSENSUS
TO NEW WORK PROGRAM AND THAT BELGRADE MEETING AND
CSCE PROCESS WOULD THEN FACE RISK OF COLLAPSE.

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5. SOVIET POSITION HAS BEEN AMBIGUOUS. IN CORRIDOR CONVERSATIONS
AMB VORONTSOV HAS INDICATED TO AMB GOLDBERG THAT SOVIETS WANT

TO END MEETING AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE, THAT THEY ACCEPT THERE
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WILL BE NO SUBSTANCE IN CONCLUDING DOCUMENT AND THAT WESTERN
PAPER IS BETTER OF TWO INTRODUCED FEBRUARY 28. THEY HAVE,
HOWEVER, CONTINUED TO INDICATE IN MORE FORMAL SETTINGS THAT
ROMANIAN PAPER IS PREFERRED BASIS ON WHICH TO WORK, AND THEY
HAVE BEEN TOUGHENING THEIR POSITIONS. FOR EXAMPLE, THEY ARE
NOW ARGUING THAT AMENDMENTS TO CBM TEXT PUT INTO ROMANIAN
PAPER AT THEIR URGING ARE NOT ENOUGH AND THAT MANDATE SHOULD
MAKE IT EXPLICIT THAT GROUP COULD DEAL WITH GENERAL
SECURITY AND DISARMAMENT QUESTIONS, NOT JUST A FEW CBM MATTERS.

6. WHILE EFFECT OF THIS POSITION IS THAT SOVIET ARE BEARING
A GOOD PART OF THE BURDEN FOR EFFECTIVELY STALLING AND POSSIBLY
KILLING A CBMS GROUP AND ALLIES CAN FUDGE QUESTION OF WHETHER
SUCH A GROUP MIGHT BE ACCEPTED IN SHORT DOCUMENT IF A REASONABLY
LIMITED MANDATE COULD BE NEGOTIATED, SOVIET POSITION ON FOLLOW-UP
IS MORE TROUBLING. SOVIETS TOOK A BIG STEP BACKWARD IN
SPECIALIZED CONSULTATION GROUP TODAY SAYING THAT ON NEW INSTRUCTIONS
THEY COULD NO LONGER ACCEPT LANGUAGE EXPRESSING COMMITMENT TO
BELGRADE/MADRID-STYLE MEETINGS OCCURING AT "APPROPRIATE INTERVALS."
THIS IS LANGUAGE THAT HAD BEEN GIVEN CONSENSUS LAST WEEK AND
HAD APPEARED GENERALLY ACCEPTABLE MANY WEEKS AGO. SOVIETS
ALSO SAID THEY COULD NO LONGER ACCEPT THEIR OWN EARLIER
FORMULATION "SUCCESSIVE MEETINGS" AND THAT MOST THEY COULD NOW
ACCEPT WOULD BE TO SPEAK OF "FURTHER MEETINGS" IN GENERAL
CONTEXT.

7. NATO CAUCUS IS DISCUSSING BEST TACTICS FOR RESOLVING
DEADLOCK. ALLIES ARE AGREED THAT MALTESE, ROMANIANS AND
YUGOSLAVS ALL SEE VITAL NATIONAL INTEREST INVOLVED IN POINTS
THEY ARE FIGHTING FOR AND THAT IT WOULD BE DESIRABLE IF SOVIETS
WERE MADE TO BEAR AS MUCH RESPONSIBILITY AS POSSIBLE FOR
NEGATIVE RESULTS. AMBASSADORS ALSO CONSIDER, HOWEVER, THAT THERE
IS CHANCE SOVIETS ARE SIGNALLING BY THEIR RETREATS ON APPARENTLY
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AGREED MADRID MEETING PROVISIONS THAT LONGER MEETING LASTS,
TOUGHER THEIR POSITION WILL BECOME. IF DEADLOCK CONTINUES,
THERE IS POSSIBILITY SOVIETS WILL TRY TO GET OUT OF BELGRADE
WITH NO CONCLUDING DOCUMENT AT ALL, THUS BREAKING OFF CSCE
PROCESS. FRG REP CALLED PRESENT SITUATION A "TIME BOMB", AND
ALL ALLIES ARE AGREED THAT IT IS DESIRABLE TO TRY TO PIN DOWN
SOVIETS ON THEIR INFORMAL EXPRESSIONS OF ABILITY TO ACCEPT
WESTERN DRAFT. CAUCUS WISHES TO AVOID POSITION OF PUTTING

WESTERN PRESSURE ON ROMANIANS AND YUGOSLAVS, IF THIS CAN BE AVOIDED, BUT IT IS CONSIDERING WHETHER IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO DIVIDE HARD CORE PROPONENTS OF ADDITIONAL EXPERT MEETINGS. CANDIDATE MIGHT BE MALTESE (SWISS SHOULD BE OPEN TO PERSUASION TO GIVE UP THEIR STAND), TO WHOM SEVERAL ALLIES ARE SUGGESTING WE MIGHT OFFER AN EXPERTS MEETING LIMITED AS PROPOSED IN ALLIED COMPREHENSIVE CONCLUDING DOCUMENT PROPOSAL TO ECONOMIC, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL SUBJECTS. IT IS BY NO MEANS CLEAR THAT MALTESE WOULD ACCEPT SUCH AN OFFER, HOWEVER, SINCE THEY REITERATED TODAY THAT THEY CONSIDER IT ESSENTIAL TO MAINTAIN POSSIBILITY THAT A MEDITERRANEAN MEETING COULD BE AT A HIGHER LEVEL THAN EXPERTS AND THAT IT COULD DISCUSS POLITICAL/SECURITY SUBJECTS. THEN AGAIN, IF ALLIES MADE SUCH AN OFFER, IT WOULD BECOME MORE DIFFICULT TO MAINTAIN POSITION OF PRINCIPLE THAT A CBMS GROUP COULD NOT BE ACCEPTED IN AN UNBALANCED SHORT CONCLUDING DOCUMENT. SEVERAL ALLIES ARE CONSIDERING WHETHER SITUATION MAY REQUIRE NEW INPUT FROM CAPITALS ON ATTITUDE TOWARD EXPERT GROUPS.

8. SITUATION THUS REMAINS BOTH CONFUSED AND FLUID. COMMON AGREEMENT TO CONTINUE CONTACT GROUP WORK THIS EVENING, HOWEVER, SUGGESTS THAT CLIMAX IS AT HAND AND THAT THERE WILL BE CONCENTRATED EFFORT TO PRODUCE SOLUTION WITHIN NEXT FEW DAYS.

GOLDBERG

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